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Congress Moves in on the Churches

New Republic

ASIA: A NEW TIME?

The Opportunity for Boldness in Indo-China and Korea

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The truce at Panmunjom is a shaky affair at best; even so, it is wise to try to appraise the consequences. There will presumably be some reduction in world tension if the truce lasts and, among other things as we see it, the following: (1) Increased Congressional desire to relax, cut defense and loosen the belt; (2) a poorer climate for witch-hunts if war jitters diminish; (3) Increased Eisenhower prestige on the "He-made-peace" theme; (4) A business reconversion problem reaching its peak in about a year; (5) New emphasis on French Indo-China; (6) An acute problem with our allies over trade with Red China—first with the Europeans and then with Japan; (7) Finally, an acute challenge to the doctrinaire State Department policy of refusing to accept the status quo in China, recognizing the Red Government and admitting it to the UN.

The shaky truce in Korea won't mean much of a dollar saving right at first, but Congress is in no mood to think about that. If we are any judge of Congress, it is just panting for an excuse to rush demobilization as it did after World War I and after World War II. Quick adjournment may postpone this now, but if the truce still exists next January it will take every ounce of Eisenhower's authority to restrain it. There is quite more than likely to be reduced interest in Europe, too, and a growth of attacks on the United Nations by our isolationists.

We have searched the federal finances high and low and blessed if we can see how Ike is going to balance the budget in the next couple of years. We have the impression that the only man bold enough to tell the real fiscal facts to the public is dour old Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.). He sees a $10 billion deficit at the end of this fiscal year and maybe $14 billion next year. A slew of big Korean-emergency taxes expire automatically next January and April, and for the life of us we don't see how Ike can ask Congress to continue them just before an election! Ike has made much of his avowed position that the budget must be balanced before tax cuts, but the fact is the budget will be deep in the red January 1 when Ike will presumably go along with prospective tax cuts. Pressure to cut foreign aid and defense, to help justify rash election promises of a balanced budget and reduced taxes, will be politically irresistible, we should think. Almost certainly, next January the Treasury will try to extricate itself by a manufacturers' sale tax but, here again, we just don't see Congress taking it. The fairy story of "retrenchment" balancing the budget has about run out. Apparently the Administration doesn't have the courage to ask Congress for a higher legal debt ceiling, a reluctance which is understandable but which leaves the Treasury skating on precarious ice. If there is any logic in the President's position he will veto the bill giving movie theaters $100 million of federal tax relief. It's desperately unpopular to say so just now but, with business booming, the way to balance the federal budget is through more, not less, taxes.

It seems about time to acknowledge, cautiously, that Joe McCarthy has been slipping. He made a terrible mistake in the J. B. Matthews matter where he gave the Bible Belt the image of a Catholic-indorsed attack on the Protestant clergy. McCarthy had been expected to roam the doubtful states like a monster next year, smearing Democrats and re-electing Republicans. Well, any Republican who wants a religious issue on his hands can now get it easily—just ask Joe to make a speech for him! We don't say this is fair; we do say that in McCarthy's case it is mordantly ironic. McCarthy is now a party issue. The Democrats are officially against him, the close-knit Southerners are particularly united, and he is the problem child solely of the Republicans. Even they show restiveness — the long-suppressed distaste is coming out. Sen. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) has hit the best style so far in dealing with McCarthy: it's calm banter and ridicule underpinned by facts. He called Cohn and Schine the "Keystone Cops," and serenely exposed the lunatic fringe letters that he received after his frontal attack on McCarthy. There are signs that McCarthy's ill-humor is turning against fellow Senators; a demagogue intoxicated by success who feels a sudden check may lose his head completely.

Who should appear among us, of all people, last week but Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, testifying at a Senate committee against a "give-away" House bill that would turn Niagara Falls power over to five big private companies. The House passed this outrageous bill by more than 2 to 1, and every GOP Representative from New York but one voted for it. There Dewey was, moustache, twinkle and all, and we must say he did a superb job on the side of the angels. This is the last big, underdeveloped power source in North America, he said, and for 30 years New York State has favored public—not private—development control of resources. He spoke casually, informally, without notes and made a tremendous hit. The Senators were visibly impressed and so were we. For us diamond-hard Tom Dewey is a terribly difficult man to love; Ike is a more agreeable figure anyway. And yet, this twice-defeated Presidential candidate is a magnificent administrator. He has forgotten more about US history and politics than Ike will ever learn; he reads newspapers and doesn't get his information in capsule, one-page digests from staff officers. It was hard not to make comparisons.

Notes: Cardinal point in the Oxnam-Velde committee hearing was disclosure that the so-called committee "files," said to encompass a million people, are a mass of unevaluated, derogatory newspaper clippings and hearsay charges for which the committee declines to take responsibility but which it nevertheless circulates.

Six months after Ike killed price controls living costs have gone up just about the "$3 billions" which the Truman officials predicted. . . . As the 83rd Congress prepares to wind up its first session it seems clear that it has not solved but only postponed big problems before it.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Senator McCarthy's New Critics

JOE MCCARTHY'S rise to power came about through popular acceptance of a simple rule: anybody who criticized McCarthy was a Red agent or dupe. The rule worked nicely on Democrats and some moderate Republicans, but it can't be used effectively against the new group of McCarthy critics that has appeared on the extreme right of the Republican Party.

McCarthy has tried desperately to change his own rules; he recently admitted that opponents could be merely corrupt instead of Communistic. But he may find it difficult to switch to pillows after starting the fight with knives; by the totalitarian logic he has been following, he would have to prove that conservative Republicans are pink too.

McCarthy first ran up against his party's right-wing while attempting a Red hunt in the President's own security arm, the Central Intelligence Agency. This was big game, but it was fair game by McCarthy standards, since even Eisenhower, as middle-of-the-roader, might have been vulnerable to the Red smear. But Vice-President Nixon is an invulnerable right-winger, and it was Nixon, working behind the scenes, who stymied the attack on the CIA. For the first time, McCarthy tasted defeat.

There have been other ominous rumbles from the Senatorial right wing of the GOP. Jenner, of Indiana, long irked by McCarthy's headline-stealing, has been awaiting the chance to assume his rightful place as chief Red hunter of the Upper House. Carl Mundt (N.D.), Everett Dirksen (Ill.), and Charles Potter (Mich.), who comprise McCarthy's rump subcommittee, refused to hear any self defense from his clergy-baiting pet, J. B. Matthews. Alexander Wiley (Wis.) and William Langer (N. D.), reportedly expressed satisfaction when two Democrats, Herbert Lehman and Mike Monroney, denounced McCarthy on the Senate floor. Finally Potter, in a radio statement, became the first of McCarthy's close associates to criticize him by name. Anti-Communism, Potter suggested, isn't necessarily patriotism.

McCarthy showed real desperation in his recent threat to cut appropriations for the International Information Administration, whose retiring administrator, Dr. Robert L. Johnson, had attacked another subcommittee pet, Karl Baarslag. McCarthy spoke as if he were the Senate Appropriations Committee in toto, instead of one of its 23 members—some of whom aren't overly friendly to him.

If this is indeed the end of McCarthy's rise, it follows a recognizable totalitarian pattern. For in the past few weeks he has overestimated his power, aroused the jealousy of his colleagues, committed major lapses in judgment, and suffered from the devouring logic he created—guilt by association.

In the Matthews episode, try as he did to sidestep the religious issue, McCarthy, a Catholic, stood guilty by association of an attack on the Protestant clergy. One result of this has been the alienation of Harry Byrd and several other Southern Democratic Senators. Republicans still depend on the Southerners to help snatch Administration chestnuts from the fire—as happened in the passage of the defense-appropriations bill, and will probably happen with the foreign-aid bill and other controversial measures. Thus, Southern resentment of McCarthy could seriously affect his status in the GOP.

I'm Getting a Little Tired of This Honeymoon

Anti-McCarthy strategists have already hinted at their next step—an indirect but unmistakable slap at the McCarthy investigations. This may come very soon, in a form few lawmakers of either party would care to oppose. By all indications, no Republican yet feels strong enough to initiate such a step, but plenty of Republicans feel strong enough to follow Democratic initiative.

The alignment of forces became evident behind the scenes during the recent Monroney-Lehman attack on McCarthy. "Hit him again," prominent Republicans said, in substance.

Mysterious Conference

AT LEAST two years elapse before a Congressional public-housing authorization begins to produce a building. Federal-municipal contracts must be signed, land acquired and cleared, plans prepared, etc. During these years money, both federal and local, is being invested. Right now there is a backlog of 62,000 units for which contracts have been signed. They represent a large investment. Some of these units could be built soon; others will require a year or more of preliminary work.

A few months ago the House voted against beginning construction on any of these buildings during this fiscal year. The Senate, however, authorized 35,000 construction starts for this year and 35,000 new contracts to maintain continuity in the program. A Senate-House conference was called.

The Senate, in effect, sponsored 97,000 present and future low-cost units. The House was committed to 62,000 future units. The conference report was to be a compromise between these two figures. But somehow the report, now

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passed by the House, calls for construction this year of 20,000 backlog units and no new contracts. These 20,000 were carefully chosen—9,023 present the greatest construction difficulties. The man who negotiated this "compromise," Rep. John Phillips (R, Calif.), wants the government to default on the remaining 42,000 contracts. Thus, he said on the floor of the House, the public-housing program will be "liquidated." House Majority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R, Ind.) heartily concurred.

President Eisenhower had asked for 35,000 new units this year. The "compromise" report results directly from his refusal to oppose his prestige to the pressures of the real-estate lobby. And it places the life or death of public housing squarely up to him. Only a reversal of this "liquidation" in the next session can save the program. And the issue is politically explosive. Housing is one of the few federal programs from which minority groups such as the Negroes have benefited on a basis of equality. If it is liquidated, still more of Eisenhower's campaign promises will rise to haunt him.

500 Million Customers

SENATOR MCCARTHY'S Government Operations Committee has issued a report on Western trade with the Soviet bloc, particularly Red China. F. D. Flanagan and Robert F. Kennedy, committee staff members, conducted an exhaustive and valuable job of pulling together scattered data and making it readily available. Unfortunately, however, the facts are sandwiched between a series of subjective judgments in no way supported by those facts. In effect, the report states that it is a sin and a crime to trade with the Soviet bloc and that most of our allies are sinners and criminals. Yet the report does not demonstrate that such trade has and does result in a net gain for the Communist empire. The question of net gain is not even seriously considered in the committee study.

Our allies do not trade to strengthen their enemies. They trade to strengthen themselves. More, they trade to live, to survive. Nowhere does the report recognize this. It treats of trade with China and the Soviet bloc, but it raises the entire question of the economic interrelationship of the world. Yet the judgments it includes are not formulated against so wide a frame of reference.

Actually the report again demonstrates how alien is the concept of survival through trade to the national experience of the United States. We began with an extraordinary self-sufficiency. Then two world wars gave us control of world markets previously dominated by the nations of Western Europe. We never really experienced the fierce, complex and never-ending struggle to win and retain markets which is part of the national experience of all our major allies.

The traditional economic needs of those nations have been intensified and complicated by the physical destruction of two major wars, the loss of historical markets to the US, the surrender of colonies, the industrialization of the Balkans and Russian economic domination of Eastern Europe and China. With the American market still largely closed by "peril points," Buy American acts and nightmarish custom procedures, and with US economic aid being cut, those trade possibilities which remain are eagerly sought by nations which must trade or go bankrupt. And they are sought not only for their present value, but also for their potential, both economic and diplomatic. England's trade with China during 1952 amounted to 17 hundredths of one percent of her total trade. But she will not give it up. There are 500 million potential customers in China; and the incentive of trade keeps the Bamboo Curtain from being completely lowered.

The committee has accepted in toto the thesis of the Department of Defense that any trade with the Soviet bloc strengthens the Communist empire. It has rejected the protest of the President, the State Department and the Mutual Security Agency that things just are not that simple. Most Republican Congressmen line up with the Department of Defense.

Yet very soon the economies of Japan and of the nations of Southeast Asia will become increasingly dependent upon China trade. And the nations of Europe, determined to survive, will turn more and more toward traditional East-West trade as Communist offers are made more attractive by the lack of a US substitute. It is difficult to see what acceptable answers the Department of Defense-Republican Congress attitude offers for such complicated problems.

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Photo of Syngman Rhee from Wide World Photo page 12 from "The French Defense Effort" magazine

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Stevenson in Paris—on the Way Home

Adlai Stevenson's one-week visit to Paris convinced the most skeptical Frenchmen that the advance billing was justified. They expected charm, wit and intellect. They were looking for a man of spirit and sympathy. In the course of his stay here he demonstrated that he had these qualities and that he was that sort of man.

If there was any exception to the general and hearty approbation for Stevenson in France, it existed precisely in those political quarters which expected the most from him, the moderate left. And it was in those quarters that Stevenson sought a good part of his information.

Stevenson had two long talks with Pierre Mendes-France, chairman of the Assembly's Finance Committee, and the man who fell only 13 votes short of forming a left-of-center government during the most recent government crisis. Mendes-France is generally credited with being one of the ablest French political leaders to emerge since the war. Many observers believe that he will head the first government in France that swings back toward the left after the long rightward trend. He is not anti-American but he wants to cut France's dependence on America. He would liquidate the war in Indo-China, as an almost insupportable burden for France, at almost any strategic cost. He thinks the advantage of time lies with peace negotiations there now, and not later. The men of his persuasion are distrustful of America's world leadership and they regard McCarthyism as confirmation of their judgment.

Stevenson always emphasized while he was in Paris that the main purpose of his journey was to see the East, both Far and Middle. Only a fraction of his time was spent in Europe. But East met West in the issue of what to do about Indo-China, which had become really hot in the few weeks since Stevenson had been there.

The French Government, under mounting pressure from the Indo-Chinese states, had just issued a declaration of independence in reverse and was planning the implementation of this statement. Weary of this war that was weakening France in Europe while German strength was increasing, the French, with the plan of General Navarre, were preparing to block what they hoped was the ultimate Viet-Minh offensive. They needed still more American aid to do it. Negotiations to end the war were being discussed in all quarters. In the background, pushing the pace, was the specter of increased Chinese help for the rebels if a Korean truce worked out.

Colonial ideas were in almost total eclipse. The French will to hold was relaxing. Mendes-France had important backing for his view that the war in Indo-China, which Stevenson himself called "the ugly war," should be ended by almost any means.

Stevenson's words on this subject, both in public and private, were not popular with those who held this view. He regarded holding Indo-China as essential to the strategy of the free world. If it were lost, the Communist threat to India would be vastly increased. His French hosts did not take the threat quite so seriously. They were not fully prepared for the view that as India went, so might go the world. Stevenson seemed to have little use for the theory that if Indo-China eventually went Communist, it might be in the Titoist sense.

But if Stevenson held fast to the opinion that Indo-China must under no circumstances be lost, he was aware of the exhausting nature of the war. He was perhaps not quite as familiar with the effects of this drain on France's posture in Europe. If this was a gap in his knowledge, he had it filled by Mendes-France.

Stevenson paid the traditional visit to French President Vincent Auriol. He talked with Premier Joseph Laniel, with Finance Minister Edgar Faure and with former Premier Antoine Pinay, among others. While in Paris he talked with two strong "Europeans," Jean Monnet of the Coal-Steel Authority and the Belgian Paul-Henri Spaak.

He got an American Embassy briefing and went to SHAPE and to NATO. In the course of making the rounds of American headquarters he got a confetti-tossing ovation from employees of the Office of the Special Representative in Europe.

Tired as he obviously was by his travels, Stevenson's good humor and wit never deserted him. This aspect of his character was much commented on in the French press. He even got away with the crack that he had not dared come back to France since 1945 because he was afraid he might be asked to form a government—this when French morale was just recovering from a record-breaking governmental crisis. He told the press conference he held on the last day of his stay here that his trip had been "fascinating, fatiguing and fattening."

The question of what next for Stevenson was unanswered in Paris. Some of the French newspapers, putting zero and zero together, came up with the conclusion that he would go home and take the Democratic Party quickly and firmly in hand. The Americans who talked with him here, more familiar with the extreme titularity of titular party leadership, did not attribute this intention to him.

He has hundreds of invitations to speak, none of them yet accepted, but he will do some speaking. Beyond that, there is not much certainty.

Stevenson characteristically issued no blasts or pronunciamentos during his journey of self-education. The one news-making exception in Paris was on the subject of McCarthyism. He was asked at his press conference about the effects of the Senator's activities on America's relations with peoples abroad. He stayed silent for a good half minute and then made a carefully phrased attack on "this current infirmity, whose effects," he said, had contributed to the "precipitate decline of American prestige and leadership abroad."

Privately, he said that McCarthy had to be gotten rid of, and that it was the conservatives of America who would have to do the main part of the job.

Asked about the post-Stalin change in Russian policy, he said he regarded it as a change in tactics, and he cited the fable of La Fontaine about the contest between Boreas and Phoebus to remove a man's cloak—where the chill wind fails, the warm sun might succeed. He added that the conference door must always be kept open because if it is closed the door to war is opened.

The comment was made here that Stevenson was Eisenhower's best ambassador abroad. There was disappointment in this remark. Where were the striking alternatives and the easy ways out? If Stevenson knew of any, he was keeping them to himself. And if he was concerned about certain drifts of policy in Washington he was not going to trumpet his criticisms while on foreign soil.

Paris BLAIR CLARK

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Paris Dispatch: COMMON SENSE IN RUSSIA?

The contrast between Western European and US attitudes toward the Soviet new look was clearly stated in an exchange between Sir Vincent Tewson of the British Trades Union Congress and George Meany of the American Federation of Labor at the third congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Stockholm. Here are excerpts from their statements:

TEWSON: We welcome any manifestations of a change in the attitude of the new leaders of Soviet Russia which may ease long-standing tensions.

MEANY: Moscow may change its tactics, but it has not changed to the slightest degree its basic aim of world domination.

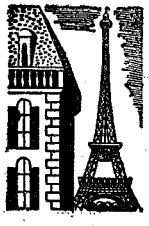
TEWSON: The present time is a time for caution.

MEANY: This is no time for backsliding under the pretext of caution.

TEWSON: We must be careful not to jeopardize our means of defense but neither should we countenance any sabotage, whether by word or deed, that may wreck the value of any talks that can take place.

MEANY: No dictator in history has ever been converted to a policy of reason or human decency by appeasement.

The overwhelming majority of politically-minded Western Europeans who agree with the British labor leader would not contest, however, the soundness of the American's comment on dictators. They would question whether it applies directly or adequately to the problem of taking an attitude toward the Soviet Union of Georgi Malenkov. For they believe that Malenkov seems really to be acting not as a personal dictator but as a member of a collective oligarchical team. They also believe that the atmosphere of Soviet policy has changed from Stalinistic religiosity to something approximating reason; and if not human decency, then common sense based on psychological realism.



The change took place almost at once after Marshal Stalin's death, well before there was even a suspicion of appeasement by the West. It was determined first of all by a simple fact. There is no such thing as a three-man dictatorship of the Stalinistic variety; there has never been and can never be such a dictatorship anywhere.

Western Europeans are convinced that the major objective reasons for the change lay within the Soviet world. But no leading or influential Europeans care as much about finding the right answers as Americans seem to care. For one of the striking facts about the European-US difference of opinion is that Europeans are much more concerned with deeds than with motives, with foresight into the future than with analysis of the past. They care about *what* will happen, not *why*.

Many things seem already to have happened inside the Soviet Union. Certainly the mood of the rulers and of rulership has shown signs of change along lines that are particularly impressive to Western Europeans in their present mood of greater interest in economic, social and psychological factors than in political and military factors.

Here are a number of these changes, taken from reports and comments in leading anti-Communist newspapers in England, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Denmark, quoted indirectly. Rule is less personal, less arbitrary, less autocratic. Propaganda is less over-simplified and laden with insult and invective; more complex, diversified, factual. Newspapers and magazines contain more humor and human-interest material. There is less obsession with politics, and freer play for criticism, especially of the bureaucracy. Anti-Semitism is at least less obvious as emphasis is put on a multi-racial and multi-national co-existence within the Soviet world. An effort to force down prices, to stress consumers' goods and to improve the standard of living, while stimulated by the events in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, had started before. And an effort to achieve more normal relations with the outside world across a "slightly punctured Iron Curtain" began almost on the day of Stalin's death. The shift in Western Europe from motive to deed contrasts with the previous focus of interest in Russian affairs. When, in the late Stalin years, the US concerned itself largely with the Soviet military potential, arguing that strength of the West was the paramount goal, the Western Europeans countered with talk about intentions.

A clue to the change is suggested in the statements of the London *Observer* that: "The Kremlin is taking its first promising step toward an amelioration of the condition of the Russian people since the beginning of the five-year-plan era a quarter of a century ago" and that there is a "real modification of the policy of ruthless Russification" of the satellites and border areas.

If true, these changes would under any circumstances be worth European attention. But they become of great historic importance because they coincide with changes in the European West. It is plain—on Capitol Hill as well as in Europe—that we are reaching the beginning of the end of the Marshall Plan era—the period during which great and necessary US help to the Europeans was inevitably associated with a degree of Americanization. It is also clear that if (or, in European terms, since) the danger of East-West total war is no longer imminent, the needs of rearmament—while continuing—can no longer be exclusive and overwhelmingly exacting. A growing majority among the Western European peoples demands (usually against the will of their governments) that the vast store of US wealth that has reached Europe be no longer diverted from "an amelioration of the condition of the people."

Social, economic, psychological improvement in the Soviet world, no matter how trivial it may be in terms of need or by Western standards, seems to be a fact. As such it whets European appetites. If the slight improvement in Russia is nothing but propaganda, it remains, nonetheless, remarkably effective propaganda in Western Europe. If the US wants to face it, the method is not so much more help for Europe as it is more help for the European workers and ordinary people to get their shares of the help that has already been given.

Paris F.G.

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial Congress Moves in on the Churches

ON THE BASIS of Thoreau's principle that when the agencies of government act unjustly, "the place for a just man is a prison," it may have been appropriate for Bishop Bromley Oxnam to appear before the Un-American Activities Committee. His high standing as a churchman, combined with his formidable gift of self-expression and his simple but impressive personal dignity, gave him advantages which are not possessed by the committee's more usual victims, and it was courageous and patriotic to employ these advantages in exposing the committee's shabby methods and low ethical standards for what they are.

Although the hearing was prolonged and must have been fatiguing, the Bishop was at all times in command of the situation. His answers were unhesitating, his manner courteous, his composure unbroken. He was obviously and transparently truthful. At times the committee was reduced to silence—but was not able to impose silence on the audience. Repeatedly, the Bishop was applauded and it was decidedly his occasion.

Yet, he should never have been there at all. In congratulating him upon his able and successful defense of his own rights and his championship of the similar rights of others, we must not lose sight of the ominous fact that a highly placed churchman, forthright in his condemnation of evil and notable for a lifetime of service to righteous causes, felt obliged to explain his actions to a Congressional committee, a member of which had made flagrantly false charges against him in the House of Representatives. He was not accountable to the committee for any of these actions; nor would he have been accountable for other alleged actions if the allegations had been true. He was accountable as to all these matters only to his own conscience and to his church.

Except for the wild accusation made by Representative Jackson of California, that he "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week," the Bishop was in no respect a person in whom the government was entitled to be interested on grounds of possible disloyalty.

The production of the committee's file, together with the Bishop's comments, had proved that Jackson's accusation was entirely baseless, as everyone who knew anything at all about the Bishop was certain that it was when Jackson made it. There was no attempt at the hearing to go into questions of loyalty; it was quite obvious beforehand that no such question was involved.

But the power of Congressional committees to impose conformity to their own views has reached the point where church leaders, to preserve their reputations, must prove not only their antagonism to Communism but also that they were never at any time hopeful in their estimation of it and that they identified it instantly if it happened to invade any organization in which they were interested.

It is not remembered by Congressional committees that the Congress itself was once hopeful of Communism; so recklessly hopeful that it demobilized our armies at a breakneck pace, leaving the Soviet Union at the end of World War II the dominant power in Europe—and this before peace had begun to be negotiated! If such an action was not based upon the confidence of Congress that Communists were to be trusted in making and maintaining peace, the members who voted for quick demobilization should be tried for treason. It was this heedless liquidation of our armed force in Europe that, more than any other one thing, opened the way for Communist aggression, and Congress must accept responsibility for it. The truth is, of course, that Congressmen as much as all others—indeed, more than many others—were slow to recognize the threat of Communism. It was a mistake of judgment so egregious, and so grave in its consequences, that one would think that a committeeman would be ashamed to mention the trivial errors made by men like Bishop Oxnam.

However, even if Congress had been prudent and sagacious instead of rash and unperceiving, no right would exist to substitute the peculiar standards of anti-Communism of a Congressional committee for the entire faith and purpose of a church. Yet, this is what is being done. Bishop Oxnam, outstandingly loyal to the faith and purpose of his church, must justify his reputation, not by showing that he is good man who has engaged in good works and is worthy of his vocation, but by satisfying this committee—which is probably impossible—that he has conformed or wishes that he had conformed to its own particular brand of anti-Communism. Failure to provide this satisfaction—and some members of the committee, despite the conclusive nature of his testimony, refuse to admit that Bishop Oxnam has satisfied them—is intended to discredit the witness, no matter how loyal a citizen he is or how good and useful a life he has lived in the service of his church and in dedication to humanity.

Since the committeemen know this, it is necessary to

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draw certain inferences. The truth is—and it is important to grasp it—that the committees of both Houses which are engaged in the current inquisition are quite definitely opposed to the churches and to the ethical principles which churches uphold. They are not yet fully aware of it and probably do not at the present time deliberately intend it, but what the committeemen seek is the removal of the restraints of religion and the elimination of its ethical ideals in social application. The Kingdom of God must be a prayer, not a program; justice must be an aspiration, not an intention; benevolence must be a mood and not on any account a motivation. When, therefore, a minister applies his religion to the factors which are shaping history, rebuking unrighteousness in high places, where it is most damaging, he is resented. He should content himself with saving the souls of the meek and leave the powerful to their own devices.

It is a welcome fact to the committee inquisitors that a number of ministers and other people devoted to human welfare were more hopeful than events have proved wise. They thought that Communism, if it was not too sharply repelled, might change for the better. They hoped that Russia, when the revolutionary phase was over, would become a genuine democracy. They believed that Stalin, if he could be assured that we had no aggressive intention towards Russia, would co-operate in building world peace. These were vain hopes as it turned out, but not unworthy ones. It would have been far better for the world if they had proved sound. Is there anyone so foolish or so wicked as to wish that Russia will always be an enemy and that peace will never be possible?

It is neither a crime against the State nor a sin against God to have faith in human nature, and it was out of this faith that the churchmen, with a very few deplorable exceptions, felt moved to take an optimistic view of Communists. Those of us who were more skeptical were not for that reason morally superior. When we became allied with Russia in the war against Hitler, it was fortunate for us all, because without Russia we might have been defeated. We must not forget—indeed, it must never be forgotten—that Hitler was not only an aggressive militarist; he was an utter barbarian. It was he, by his own order, who put to death millions in gas chambers because of their race or their nonconformity. His victory was unthinkable and the fear of it was a powerful factor in making loyal Americans feel more friendly toward Russia and therefore more hopeful of Communists.

Clergymen who joined organizations which included Communists did so, not to help Communism, which they were bound to reject, but to help humanity, as promised in their ordination vows. Their mistakes were not of motive but of judgment, though in the Bishop's case it should be mentioned that they were remarkably few and swiftly remedied. Anyone who takes action makes some mistakes, and this is just as true of people who are working for human welfare as of anyone else. But the persecutors of these churchmen were not devoted to human welfare as much as they were to narrower aims, and so they never ventured into anything in which they could have made this kind of mistake. This is not, however, because they understood the threat of Communism. It is because they were against anything, and still are, that promises a wider justice and a better life for the common people.

It is because they still half believe that Communism holds this sort of promise that they are antagonistic to it but are not disturbed by Franco's Spain—and, in the past, were slow to see the danger in Mussolini and the evil in Hitler. What they are after in the churches is not the exposure of the very few Communists who are posing as ministers. If this were their object, they could have achieved it long since, simply by having the government furnish the churches with the evidence. What they want is to discredit progressive, liberal churchmen who have a concern for social progress; and they believe that the presence of a few Communists, either now or in the past, in churches and church movements will enable them to do it.

IN ADDITION, the Protestant churches present them with a further problem: resistance to conformity. The leaders of such churches must always be an obstacle to power-hungry men, for they are not only free to reject the opinions of the inquisitors; they are free to rebuke the inquistion itself. This is what Bishop Oxnam did, and that is why the committeemen tried to undermine his reputation. They knew that he was neither a Communist nor a friend of Communism—or, by taking a little trouble, they could very easily have found out. But they did not want to know. They sensed that he was a churchman who was eager that righteousness govern our national life and that justice and benevolence prevail in our social institutions. This made him a "liberal," a man who was bound to have had some contact with organizations that Communists had exploited. This, in the climate of opinion created by the committees, could be used to damage him and to impede the causes that he represented.

This, then, is what we need to grasp about the Oxnam hearing: it is a new encroachment; the Congressional committees are moving in upon the churches. It is not fortuitous, something that has taken that direction almost by chance; it is required by what the committees are groping toward: the substitution of enforced conformity for independent judgment, and of anti-Communism for the Judeo-Christian ethic, and of authoritarianism for the American founding principles. It is part of the social conflict of our time, and a part that may very well be decisive.

A. POWELL DAVIES

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The Bishop Stood His Ground

"We can go outside or beat up the Bishop," the crowd cried. But white and Negro worship together now in Newton Grove

by Burke Davis

NORTH CAROLINA'S 28,000 Catholics are quietly non-segregated this summer, though in some quarters there is an uneasy peace.

But on one recent hot Sunday morning in a rural cotton region of the state, where Bishop Vincent S. Waters struck the first blow against separation of white and Negro congregations, the white congregation broke the peace in a disturbing scene.

Outside the crossroads village of Newton Grove, N. C., where a white and a Negro Catholic Church stood side by side, an angry mob of church members appeared on the day of union. They hurled stones against the weathered old white building, harassed Bishop Waters, manhandled two priests in a brief struggle, and threatened news reporters and photographers.

Bishop Waters, a native Virginian who has been Bishop of Raleigh, N. C., since 1945, has nothing in his background to indicate un-Southern leanings. He had, two years ago, warned that segregation must end within his diocese, lest the church be accused of dividing its faith and the rewards thereof. In the tense atmosphere of Newton Grove, Bishop Waters was a surprised visitor. He preached at two of the Masses, to handsful of his people while the mob waited outside.

The bishop, preaching at the first two Masses, read his letter of early 1951 in which he explained that the North Carolina diocese was to put an end to segregated churches, and explained that segregation of church buildings had begun with his predecessor, Bishop McGinnis. The third Mass ended, and Bishop Waters, a tall, firm-faced, bespectacled man, appeared on the porch of the church. Eight or 10 men rushed up demanding that Waters see "we men." The bishop said he would hold interviews in the rectory, but only with Catholics.

"I'm not a Catholic," one of the men said, "but I'm going to see you, unless you or some of them are man enough to throw me out."

The crowd stalked in silence the 100 yards to the rectory, just behind the bishop and the church priest, Father Timothy Sullivan. The bishop disappeared in the rectory, and Father Sullivan faced the crowd on the porch: "The bishop hasn't had his coffee yet today. He was up at 5 o'clock."

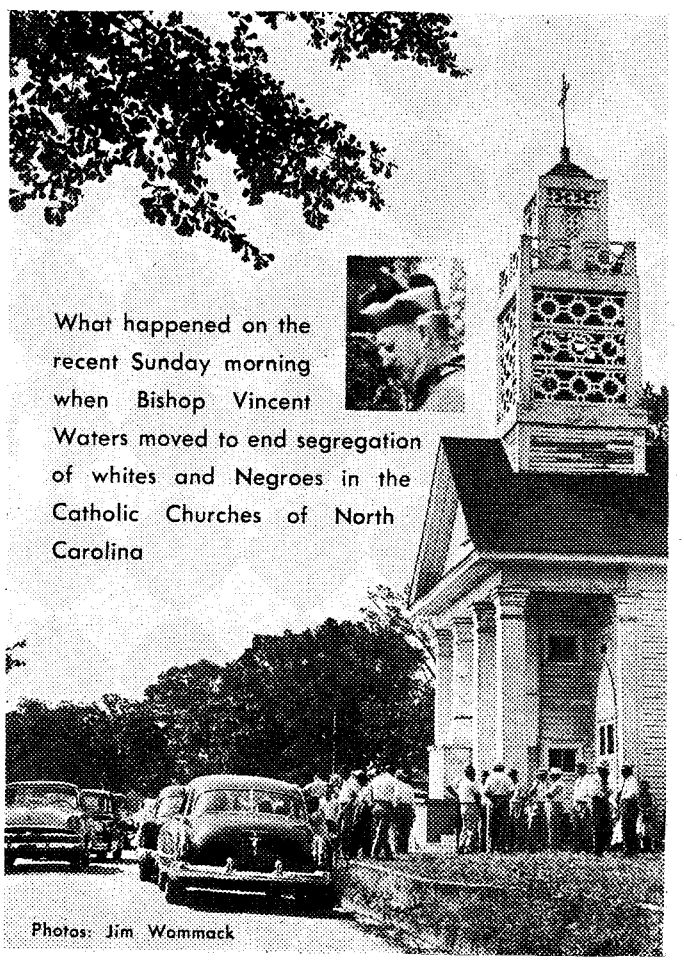
"So were we," a woman shouted.

"This is an awful thing," Sullivan said. "You can come in and see him one at a time."

"We're going to see him," one of the leaders yelled. "We'll see him or he'll not get away from here. We'll *not see him no one at a time, neither. All together.*"

"Go watch the front door," someone yelled. "He might get away." A man ran to the front.

Others yelled, and the crowd, led by six or eight men,



What happened on the recent Sunday morning when Bishop Vincent Waters moved to end segregation of whites and Negroes in the Catholic Churches of North Carolina

Photos: Jim Wommack

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most of whom were in their 40's and 50's, hurled Father Sullivan and Father George Lynch, the young chancellor to the bishop, far back into the hall.

Shoving and lifting the priests off their feet, though they struggled violently, the mob pushed its way to a glass door in the hallway, perhaps 12 feet from the entrance. There the priests, yelling, "This is terrible, this is an awful thing," finally faced down the crowd, and some hands from the rear pulled back the leaders. Puffing, wild-eyed, and with their gowns in disarray, the priests held the crowd at bay.

"No violence," one of the women said. "No violence to anybody. We'll not hurt the bishop, nor anyone else."

"I'm not afraid of that," Sullivan said, "not so long as there are Catholics here."

The leaders, though they still shouted defiantly, and some cursed (a few "hells" and "damns"), began to back down.

"Why are you afraid to go into him one at a time," Father Lynch said.

"We're not afraid. Let him come out on the porch," the man who was a professed Protestant said. "If he don't come he's a coward."

"He's sharper than we are," another said. "He'd talk us down if we were alone."

"He's a sharp devil, all right," another said and a third:

"Watch that newspaper photographer! He took a picture of us pushing! Get him! Get that picture!"

The crowd ran onto the lawn, where the leaders accosted Rudy Faircloth of Raleigh, an Associated Press photographer. "Give us that picture. You got no right on private property."

Charles Craven, a Raleigh *News and Observer* reporter, stripped off his coat, "Wait a minute. You're fooling with newspapers now. Hold that picture, Rudy."

Faircloth cried: "You can do what you want to me, kill me if you want, but you can't have this picture, and I'll tell you you'll pay for what you do to me. I represent 3,400 newspapers."

A man from the crowd pulled at the belligerent ones: "You'll give Newton Grove the biggest black eye it ever had."

"It's already black enough," one of the leaders said.

Bishop Waters continued to see his irate parishioners, two at a time, and calmed them down. All was quiet when reporters drove down the lonely sand-clay road an hour later.

The drama began early with the arrival of the first carloads of church members—deriding the Negroes who began to enter, and the priests themselves.

At the first Mass, Negroes were brought in by the church bus—about 30 of them attended early Mass, outnumbering the whites by about two to one. The second Mass drew nine Negroes and three whites—and the third a dozen, all white. People said that most of the congregation of 350, including most of the leaders of the congregation, had gone to other Catholic churches in the area.

A middle-aged woman, Mrs. Price Royals, the wife of a well-known plumber of the neighborhood, stalked across the yard, holding a prayer book. She shouted to her daughter, "You don't defy me. You come on in here. Don't disobey the bishop. Come on." The daughter demurred, but finally went in ahead of her mother, clearly in anger. Five minutes later her father went in, in his khaki shirt and suspenders, and brought her out.

"Sure I got her out of there, because I don't believe in no such thing," Royals said. "I think it's the Communists. They get under everybody's skin in their way."

Major Sutton, the vice-president of the Holy Name Society of the Holy Redeemer Church commented: "I don't like it worth a damn. I've been a Catholic all my life—60 years. I think it will tear up the church. I say we can all go outside, or beat up the bishop, one or the other.

"For the last 15 years the niggers have had their own church. I got nothing against the nigger, so long as he stays in his own church. I will never go in again unless they get the niggers out, and that's the way the whites feel about it."

A GROUP OF MEN, shouting in rather strained voices, while the musical sounds of Mass came through open doors and windows—"We got to get that damn bishop, that's what. And stomp him, if we have to. We got to beat hell out of him to make him listen."

A woman, neatly dressed: "No, ignore him is the way, as he's ignored us."

(Waters had refused members of the church a hearing in Raleigh until they complied with his orders to end segregation—allowing the 90 Negro members of St. Benedict's Church—300 yards away—to worship with them.)

"Look yonder. There come the niggers. The nerve of that thing in there. . . . Don't you go in, it's full of niggers. . . . Look at that car full of them, that big car. I bet they ain't been to church in a year, just come today for spite." (The Negro man in the car indicated, refused admittance by a priest, said he was a Catholic, had brought his family from Goldsboro, and that he would return next week.)

A boy ran out, excited: "They're all sitting in one row." From a window, it appeared that the Negroes had voluntarily segregated themselves, generally on one side of the central aisle of the church.

Lewis Gregory, an old member: "It's a dirty mistake. It's going to bring serious trouble. The church will flop."

Richard Casey, farmer, living seven miles away: "My wife's having a baby now. That baby'll never come up a Catholic."

A man greeted the car bearing two deputy sheriffs: "Well, we got new converts. Ain't this the damndest thing you ever saw?"

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Some men argued: "All we got to do is stay out. They ain't going to let this be another nigger church. They told me they thought attendance would fall off for a while, and then pick back up. . . . "

"That bishop thinks he's God. . . . Why didn't he start this in Raleigh, if he was going to do it? He just thought we were poor little old country people, is why."

The first figure to appear on the steps after first Mass was that of a woman of about 40, plump, in a dark blue dress. She ran down, yelling to the crowd: "I'm proud of it, you hear? I went and nobody sat beside me." The crowd laughed at her.

The woman cried out to a reporter: "I told them what I felt. We've all got to die sometime. Me and them, too. I am going back the next time, if I have to walk. I am just what I am."

The crowd yelled at reporters: "She's crazy."

Near the end, a young priest ran over the yard on some errand. He called to the crowd: "Eleven o'clock Mass in the rectory."

The crowd roared back: "Yaaah. You can have it by yourself. . . . Let them that's so sanctified go . . . eat with 'em, and die with 'em. . . . I wonder what our grandmas would say if they was here today."

A week later, there was no mob at Newton Grove. Four or five leading churchmen were outside—and the crowds inside were larger, and were to grow larger each Sunday.

"Most of the important folks will stay away for good," Major Sutton said. "They'll go to other churches—Protestant or Catholic, it don't matter much."

What happened to the woman who came so joyously from the church the week before?

"She'll not be back," one of the men said. "Her husband just whipped hell out of her."

But a few weeks later, the end of segregation came to all churches of the diocese—without incident. There are still a few Negro Catholic Churches, located in densely populated Negro areas, but elsewhere, the races worship together. And if there is trouble because of the remaining Negro churches, Bishop Waters says, these, too will be closed.

A New Time for Asia?

Korea and Indo-China could foster a new, positive force for peace. The United States and France will decide.

KOREA: by Tom Fitzsimmons

SYNGMAN RHEE'S position is clear: if the UN does not place the whole of Korea under his rule, he will violate the truce.

Two answers are possible. We can warn Rhee that if he violates the truce he will be left to fight alone. If he ignores the warning and we pull out, Korea will probably be conquered and three years of fighting wasted. Or Syngman Rhee can be removed from office and new elections called.

Two hard facts clutch Korea. First, the peninsula cannot be unified by force. Neither China nor Russia will tolerate Western armies on the Yalu; alone, Rhee could not reach, much less hold, the 800-mile Yalu frontier. Second, the Korean peninsula is an economic unit. Left divided, the parts will attract one another until one dominates economically, then politically. The UN must erase the consequences of war in South Korea faster than Russia can do so in North Korea, or we will have lost the war.

Both facts are violated by Syngman Rhee. He cannot re-unify Korea by force, but his ultimatum does place intolerable pressure upon the political discussions which alone can solve the problem of Korea. And the corruption of his regime creates intolerable obstacles to the reconstruction of the Republic of South Korea. But can he be deposed? Would the Korean people tolerate such an act?

There are two ways by which Syngman Rhee could be deposed. The UN could request his resignation and announce that economic aid will be withheld until Korea chooses a government which recognizes its responsibility to its rescuers. Or one of the new, popular war leaders could, with the active support of the Korean Army and the approval of the UN Command, dissolve the government, call new elections, or request a UN trusteeship.

Korea is the most devastated nation in modern history. Rhee's threatened action would perpetuate and increase the suffering of the Korean people. Why then would that people not accept a new leader?

Why is Syngman Rhee continually forced to terrorize his political opponents? Why did he need the police, the army and his "youth corps" to win the election last summer? Why was Chough Pyung Ok, Secretary-General of the opposition Democratic Nationalist Party, beaten by a Rhee "youth corp" then arrested and held incommunicado? His crime was to oppose Rhee's ultimatum to the UN, denounce the "spontaneous" demon-

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strations, request food, clothing and jobs for people who cannot afford black-market prices and demand a democratic system of government. He is still in the custody of the Provost Marshal General who released the anti-Communist prisoners. No one may see him. No one but his jailor knows where he is. No formal charges have been placed against him.

In Korea, Rhee is a symbol of patriotism, but so were Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. In view of his dictatorial measures, there is no reason to believe the Korean people would not support a new, equally patriotic but saner government if they had the chance.

If Rhee remains in office, the Korean truce is little more than a respite between rounds of fighting. If he attacks northward, he will be defeated; if he is defeated only UN forces can again save South Korea. If he is replaced, the truce is the successful attainment of the war aim of the United Nations. Three years of valor on the battlefield and two years of adherence to principle at the truce table will have been vindicated. Rhee would make a mockery of these years. It matters, then, matters tremendously, which of these situations form the background to the coming political talks. And it is important that the principal allied nations be agreed in advance as to what their first and, at the very least, their second position at these talks will be. Again, the presence or absence of Syngman Rhee will largely determine the strength and the cohesiveness of the allied position.

There is probably only one peaceful solution possible in Korea: neutralization. The Korean peninsula is in a triangle bounded by Russia, China and Japan. Neither Russia nor China will tolerate Japanese or Western control of Korea. Neither Japan nor the West will tolerate Chinese or Russian control of Korea. More, if Russia controlled Korea, she would dominate China's entire northeastern border. China would not welcome such a situation.

For centuries Korea was a buffer state. She could fill that role again. Neutralization would pull Korea out of the East-West struggle. And unless Korea is pulled out there is no hope whatsoever for eventual unification under a single, popularly elected government.

Given Korea's geographical position and Russia's troubles in the European satellites, there is a chance that the Communists would agree to neutralization. That chance can be transformed almost to certainty if, beginning now, we do such a job of reconstruction in South Korea that the battered and bleeding population of North Korea is presented with the kind of example East Germans see in West Germany.

But such a program of reconstruction cannot be carried out with Syngman Rhee in power. In wartime, some corruption is inevitable. But the corruption under Rhee has been such that UN food and relief supplies have at times actually been withheld from Korea because of the frustrating knowledge that between 80 and 90 percent of the goods would go on the black market to be sold at five or six times the fixed price. Rhee has encouraged corruption, not for personal financial gain, but to gain power. His supporters receive fixed-price supplies, foreign-exchange allocations from the Bank of Korea, trucking service from the Korean Army and custody of seized Japanese property. His opponents may buy their food, clothing, fertilizer, machines and services at the black-market rate, or they can starve and go bankrupt. If Rhee remains in power, he will insist that future aid come to him in cash so that he may spend it as he sees fit. Granted such power, he could entrench himself in Korea and tie enough US profits to his fortunes to fortify his position.

Beyond the problem of Korea lies the vast question of a Pacific *modus vivendi*. The neutralization of Korea, upon Western initiative, together with territorial guarantees and the withdrawal of foreign troops, would make a vivid impression on Asian nations who suspect and fear the West as much or more than they do the Communists. If Korea could be placed under UN trusteeship until peninsula-wide elections became possible, no charge of imperialism would be possible.

With Korea neutralized and acting as a buffer, agreement on the future status of Japan would be facilitated. The precedent of neutralization and trusteeship would ease the dilemma of Formosa. Indo-China presents a special problem. There the colonial question is paramount. But any easing of Asian suspicion of the West would make a solution simpler to attain.

With the Communist Empire over extended and fighting disorder along its periphery, the West has an opportunity to act in the recognition that many nations want no part of the East-West conflict. The intensity and the potential danger of that conflict is in direct ratio to the number of nations involved and to the number of points at which the two zones of power meet. By helping those nations who want no part of the conflict to avoid it, we can both earn their friendship and minimize the possibilities of explosion.

But any such new approach will be opposed by those whose position depends upon a continuation of the two-power system and of the conflict within it. In the post-war scramble for spheres of influence, there was no time to seek new, progressive leaders. Against Ho Chi-minh, Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il Sung, we mounted Bao Dai and the French colonialists, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee. This is the political deadwood that must be cleared away if we are to help create in Asia the strong-

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est possible defense against Communist expansion: a number of free, progressive nations ready to trust the West for guidance in bringing their peoples into the twentieth century.

A Korea free of Syngman Rhee, neutral, recovering from destruction and heading for full status and independence under the protection of the United Nations, would stand as a symbol not only of a new postwar era, but also of the real worth of the collective-security concept as exemplified in United Nation guarantees against aggression. The impact upon the Indo-Chinese states could be tremendous.

INDO-CHINA: by Frank Gorrell

T. E. LAWRENCE of Arabia, who learned by experience both the science and the art of modern guerrilla warfare, once warned against the error of believing that rebellion or revolution was absolute as war is absolute. And waging war against rebellion, he said, was messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife.

Since Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu let Valluy and Pignon bombard Haiphong on November 23, 1946, the French have been waging this kind of war in Indo-China. They have used only the knife of war and never the spoon of honest or deep reform against the kind of specifically Asian "revolutionary struggle" evolved by the Sixth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1928 and developed before World War II by General P'eng Teh-luai, commander of the Chinese Communist First Front Army.

The cost in lives and money has been stupendous. Yet no conclusive military victory is in sight against Ho Chi-minh whose forces, led by Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, adapt the tactics that permitted Mao Tse-tung to defeat Chiang Kai-shek. And from a local colonialist conflict, the Indo-Chinese war has become a major political sector of the world Cold War, potentially as important—if not more important—to the people of the US as Korea.

Whatever happens in Korea during the next few months, a change in the approach to the Indo-Chinese problem is imperative. This fact is painfully obvious in France—and not only because Gen. Henri-Eugene Navarre expects a big Viet-Minh attack in the autumn. There is also a political reason which directly concerns US policy and hence the US people.

The Indo-Chinese war is a far more serious burden on France in almost every conceivable way than the Korean War has been on the US. Almost all the problems France must face—economic recovery, political stability, military strength in Europe, North Africa, relations with Germany and the US—depend on a solution of the Indo-Chinese problem. So long as French military strength and financial resources continue to be drained into the sieve of Indo-China, there can be neither the material nor the psychological basis for French ratification of the European Defense Community.

And as French official and public opinion begins to divide on Indo-China as it is already divided on the EDC, Foreign Minister Georges Bidault's harping on France's "world vocation" becomes mockery. Absent in any effective sense from the Atlantic or even the Western European community of strength and resolute purpose, France both enhances the value of West Germany's emergent presence and, rebelling from the implications of that presence, creates a drain on Western unity as damaging morally as Indo-China is materially to French unity.

It is quite natural that Secretary Dulles should have been enthusiastic about Bidault's exposition in Washington of the so-called Navarre Plan. The US already pays some 43 percent of the cost of the Indo-Chinese war; and keeping the Chinese Communists—who support Ho Chi-minh—out of Southeastern and South Asia is a major goal of US world strategy.

The Navarre Plan calls for taking the offensive, both militarily and psychological, before the Viet-Minh strikes with about eight divisions at the end of the rainy season. At present about 400,000 soldiers, some 95,000 of them European, are involved against Ho's forces. Navarre would have the French form the 108 Viet-Nam batallions already planned, send about 12 batallions (20,000 men) of fresh French troops and arrange for new equipment at a cost of between $285 and $400 million.

Unfortunately the plan was presented in (or by) Washington as one already approved in France and as designed to *end* the Indo-Chinese war. In reality, Navarre claims for it only the chance of blocking the autumn offensive, and foresees victory only as a future—and remote—possibility. And the purpose of offering it at the "Little Bermuda" conference was tactical—to get more US money as a political weapon for later official approval in Paris.

But though Dulles gave moral support, he did not—and could not—promise the money from a Congress in its present mood. Though Emperor Bao Dai of Viet-Nam is no Syngman Rhee in the vigor of his independent nationalism, there are plenty of top Viet-Namese who agree with King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia that the recent French "solemn declaration" of a willingness at long last to give Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia a status closer to real independence is too late and too little. The mood in the three states has changed, there have been of late a larger number of group and mass desertions to the Viet-Minh. After France's refusal to let the problem come before the United Nations, any form of internationalization is also too late. And, above all, the proposal to send more French soldiers to Indo-China at this stage is likely to be an invitation to political suicide for any French government that tried to put it into effect.

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The Navarre Plan has split the Laniel Cabinet because, though a majority of its members favor continuation of the Indo-Chinese war, there is even more resistance in the French National Assembly to "spending" more Frenchmen than there is to spending more money in the US Congress. Moreover, there is a growing minority both in the Cabinet and the Assembly which recognizes that a majority of the French people want an end of the Indo-Chinese war.

After Pierre Mendes-France hinted at the desirability of negotiations with Ho Chi-minh, his thesis was confirmed—and more emphatically—by such prominent anti-Communist leaders as Albert Sarraut, former Governor General of Indo-China, now president of the Assembly of the French Union (the French equivalent of the British Commonwealth). Bidault and Paul Reynaud, the power behind the throne of Premier Laniel, oppose negotiations. But Reynaud, at least, is aware of the meaning of the changes in the "colonial" world that have produced Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi-minh, Mossadegh, Naguib and other nationalist leaders.

As a matter of fact, Bidault told Dulles about the strength of the pro-negotiations current in France. Why this fact did not filter into the US press is a matter for the White House and State Department to explain.

The French who favor negotiations are quite aware that Russian military help to China has been increasing steadily in recent months, especially in the central and southern provinces. They also know that military and medical supplies, money and rice have been coming into Viet-Minh territory from southern China and across the Mekong from Siam. And the biggest export from China is the technique of guerrilla tactics and methods evolved in the "revolutionary struggle" in the Yenan. After having been in retreat for two years, the French-Viet-Nam forces face a Viet-Minh battle order which, according to General Navarre, is better and stronger than ever.

On the other hand, however, the pro-negotiations Frenchmen agree with the opinion of the London *Economist* that:

> Even now it is by no means certain that Ho Chi-Minh would reject any settlement short of complete victory. The record of Ho as a negotiator is one of a rather supple and adaptable leader who is prepared to compromise when the situation requires it. He established very good relations with the French representatives with whom he had to deal, and also at one time with Bao Dai.

There seems little doubt, moreover, that though Ho's strength depends on China, the Viet-Minh people—in common with all the Indo-Chinese—hate the Chinese almost as much as the South Koreans do. And though Ho and his fellow-leaders are Communists, the basis of their movement is nationalistic.

One of the suggested bases for possible negotiation with Ho, offered by Paul Rivet, is an agreement to hold free elections with Ho Chi-minh regarded as the equal of Bao Dai, under the joint auspices of other nations.

Whether negotiations on this or some other basis are possible depends not so much on the French Government or the French people as on Washington and Peking and the relations—if and when—between them. So long as the Eisenhower Administration refuses any concessions whatsoever to Peking, not much can be done. Yet the present French attitude in Indo-China must fairly soon change, and the only alternatives are real war or negotiations, in either case with the French accepting the responsibilities and risks.

Within France, the risk might be a government headed by Gen. Charles de Gaulle, for he is the only French leader who might dare to take the chance of real war in Indo-China, and of sending the French soldiers to wage it. Negotiations, on the other hand, would present risks not so much within France, and in French relations with the US. The Frenchmen opposed to direct dealings with Ho warn that, if they were begun, General Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles would drop the EDC and make an open military and economic alliance with a rearmed Germany. The answer to this is that, by insisting both on continued war in Indo-China and on the EDC, the President and the Secretary are in effect forcing the French to commit political suicide, and hence midwifing the rebirth of German European and world power.

THE WAR IN INDO-CHINA

Population: 26 million; 11 million under Communist control.
Political Organization: Three quasi-independent states within the French Union—Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Laos. All want full independence soon.
Hostilities: French forces have been fighting Communist insurgents since 1946; Indo-Chinese forces became actively engaged in 1949.
Forces: Allied, 517,000 men; Communist, 400,000.
Casualties and Cost: Allied casualties since 1946, 132,000. Cost to France alone has exceeded the $3 billion in economic aid advanced her by the US since 1948.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE NEW ORTHODOXIES

by Stephen Spender

THE THIRD new orthodoxy is religious, and Christian, for the most part either Catholic or Anglican. This third development is far the most striking in literature today. It is so, for several reasons. One is that against the background of totalitarianism, many writers have turned again to Christian truths which are more profound and more accessible than those which the individualist visionaries tried to work out for themselves. Christianity criticizes both the personal authority of extreme individualism which produced the personal disasters of so many poets and artists, and the public authority of dictators supposedly superhuman. It warns us that the individual who listens to his inner voice is listening only to himself and that this self is a fallen self; and of the evil of absolute power. Both these warnings are reinforced by a whole series of modern disasters.

There are other reasons for the return to some form of Christian orthodoxy. One reason is that what was best in the individualist vision of the great French writers at the turn of the century was already Catholic, even if these writers had forsaken the Church, so that those who follow after are likely to turn back to what was the starting point of Baudelaire, Verlaine and Rimbaud. Another, and most important, reason is that the individual needs the spiritual authority of the Church to strengthen him against the increasing secular authority of the State.

Nevertheless these reasons are largely negative. They are the results of the failures of the individualist visionaries to stand alone. And they do not answer the questions of Baudelaire, made a hundred years ago, with which I opened this inquiry:

> What, under Heaven, has this world henceforth to do? Even supposing that it continued materially to exist, would this existence be worthy of the name of the Historical Dictionary? As a new example, as fresh victims of the inexorable moral laws, we shall perish by that which we have believed to be our means of existence. . . . I appeal to every thinking man to show me what remains of Life. As for religion, I believe it useless to speak of it or to search for its relics. . . .

The question which comes after the answer that any new orthodoxy can give is whether this religion when expressed in literature answers or indeed even asks the first question: "What has this world to do?" An answer which treats this question as irrelevant is also treating the most significant development of literature during the past hundred years as irrelevant. And, indeed, that is perhaps what, in spite of its having been turned into objects of academic study, has happened, or is happening among us. Baudelaire and other writers felt the greatness of the past—the Bible and classical antiquity let us say—had ceased to be applicable to the present. One could only look back on the past, one could not integrate it into the life of the present. And, indeed, to live in the present was, as the nineteenth century ended, more and more to recognize the necessity of sacrificing the past altogether, cutting oneself off from its roots, immersing oneself in the present or even—as in Futurism—the idea of the future.

But the aim of certain writers—James Joyce, Henry James, Rilke and T. S. Eliot—might be stated as that of opening up the past so that it flows over the present, by stating the present in terms of the past. To explain Joyce's attitude to the past we can only describe him as a revolutionary traditionalist. He seeks not just to extend a weakening past tradition of conventions and forms into the present, but to reach back into a remote past, understand and concretize its values and interpret them into a present situation, even if the present is made to appear incredibly sordid and lost as the result of such a comparison. He throws the past into the present like a bomb. His novel *Ulysses* is a military operation of this kind in which we feel that there has been a confrontation of a whole imagined past with a whole imagined present, and the effect is explosive. Much the same confrontation takes place in the opening of the Fire Sermon in Eliot's *The Waste Land*. The theme of D. H. Lawrence is also confrontation, only of a different and more primitive past: the past, continuing into the present, of nature, instinct and primitive society, not the intensely imagined past of the literary mind.

What is noticeable in all these is the very dynamic relation of the past to the present when the writer's sense of modern values is brought into relation with his sense of past ones. The rejection of orthodox Christianity in modern literature was due to the fact that these writers felt that no such confrontation of the most living past and the most materialist present took place within contemporary Christianity of the Churches. For this reason, when writers return to the Church, we have to ask whether their orthodoxy realizes such a confrontation, or whether it is a partial retreat from the present into the past, better, wiser, profounder perhaps than much that has gone before, but perhaps also an abandonment of the problem faced by literature a hundred years ago.

Eliot's orthodoxy seems not to have given him a view of life which includes history. He separates life sharply into tradition and existence, death and life, with the rider added that the dead, because they belong to or are gathered into the past are more living than the living, who are pretty well dead. Edward and Levinia in *The Cocktail Party* might be described as life partially resurrected compared with the death-in-life view of *The Hollow Men* but still with the mould and mildew of the grave hanging to their wedding garments.

In the *Four Quartets*, by envisioning the religious pattern within our lives, Eliot has immensely strengthened our faith in the reality of spiritual life. Yet even here, his concept of tradition is of an already completed pattern, outside life although existing within our consciousness and behavior. Life seems to consist of the living—who are little more than ghosts—and the spirit and achievements of the dead. In relation to

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the dead, the living are slightly unreal, at a disadvantage on the existential plane. One asks oneself whether to him "life" was ever real, or rather whether anything happened within time to create the pattern of existence which is now outside our time. Or did history happen outside history?

He is, of course, right in thinking that our true greatness lies in our traditions. But our traditions are living, not by being outside life, but according to our capacity to create them in terms of our contemporary existence. That this may be achieved, requires surely, that life should not be at such a spiritual disadvantage compared with the past and the dead. Life should be capable of meeting death on equal terms, otherwise we fall into death-worship. In the Renaissance men worshipped antiquity, but they also translated it into their architecture and their statues.

Moreover, life goes on, with all its manifestations which we cannot escape from. If we allow our spiritual lives to be captured by past manifestations, to the exclusion of present ones, then the unredeemed ugly, and uncultivated modern world will gradually cover us over. The life of the spirit may be outside time, but change nevertheless takes place, and unless we can capture the changing appearances of things with our imaginations, then we will be ghosts living outside the world. We should imagine the past as intensely as we do the present, and we should transform the past into the material of the present.

After all, the writer in English who came nearest to understanding this was D. H. Lawrence. Lawrence saw that the view of tradition which turns us into shadows pursuing the stronger and clearer contours of another shadow-kingdom—the achievements of the dead—can only withdraw us from life into a world of interior cerebration. He realized the significance of the dead having once been alive and of the fact that they created their values out of their lives, out of living, not from a rejection of life. He saw also that what is most traditional in us is not death but precisely life.

Life does, after all, offer us the possibility of choosing to live; and within our own lives even more than within works of art, is the past: the lives of our parents and forefathers, physically and consciously and instinctively existing within our blood. The past as it exists in our physical and spiritual selves is not a separate entity, a pattern outside us, a shrine, a museum. It is ourselves. Tradition is nature as well as myth, religion and art. It is also the universe outside ourselves, still almost untouched by the traces of our history and civilization. And it is nature in ourselves which, with the best or the worst will, we can do little to alter, but we may fulfil. The relationship between individual values potential in the existence of all human beings, and capable of imposing their pattern on the forms of a new society, remain undeveloped though in the writers of this new orthodoxy.

The most important division of our time is between what Milosz, in *The Captive Mind*, calls the New Faith of Communism which is based on an idea of "*historical* merit and guilt," and the remnants of a Christianity "based on a concept of *individual* merit and guilt." Communism analyzes the conflicts in modern society which produce poverty, crises of overproduction and war, and whose symptoms are found in every aspect of human thought and behavior. It offers a solution for these conflicts which consists in adapting all human activities to the social goal of Communism. Control of history by the Communist philosophy becomes the sole purpose of government and being governed. Everything is judged by this, what serves these ends is right, and all that does not serve them, wrong. Communism rests on an initial, buried decision on the side of justice by those who then cease to be just, much as some Christian orthodoxy rests on the idea of Original Sin.

The Christian concept of "*individual* merit and guilt" is, by its implications, the only one that has the power to withstand the idea of "historic merit and guilt," to involve the individual in responsibility for what happens to his neighbor, and to be the clear concept around which the idea of a just society, answering the Communist thesis of history, might emerge. Such a concept of Christianity holds the conscience of each accountable for the suffering inflicted by society—which happens to his neighbor. At the same time it analyzes and exposes the actions of any Christian apologists for Communist methods, like the Dean of Canterbury, who slowly transforms their God into History. Finally, through drawing attention to the responsibility of the individual who can incur merit or guilt it puts Christian action back into history.

This, though, is exactly what the new Christian orthodox writers neglect to do. They are concerned with proving theology to themselves, experiencing timelessness, demonstrating the greatness of the past tradition and comparing it with the wretchedness of the present, denigrating the values of living. They evoke the idea of guilt not to prove to modern man his responsibility towards the martyrs (many of whom are Liberals and Jews whom the orthodox do not always approve of) but to draw his attention to the fact that he is fallen, and to make him increasingly preoccupied with his sins. None of this is finally inconsistent with the concept of the responsibility of every man to his neighbor, but in fact it serves to produce a mood of metaphysical introspection where each person examines his experience to prove that he has faith, is sinful, or has a sense of timelessness. The emphasis is on the inner world of isolated experience, now no longer visionary or nihilistic, but Christian, and yet still isolated from society. It is the orthodoxy of the convert preoccupied with his conversion.

Yet for people in the West who still live in comparative freedom, and where writers can receive honor for writing what they believe, to use their freedom in order to describe death as preferable to life seems a dubious use of their position. In the first place it perhaps shows too little awareness of the fate of the millions who have experienced a horrible death, and in the second place it fits in too well with the plans of tyrants who are only too glad to give the bourgeoise the death he prefers to life. Of course where there are the conditions which prevail today in so much of the world life cannot seem very attractive. All the same, if the Western writer has any responsibility it is surely to attach value to the idea of life within a pattern of society where men respect the existence of their neighbors.

Probably I shall be accused of writing that Christianity should become political. What I am trying to suggest is the reverse: that politics should be Christian. This, though, can only happen if the Christian accepts his responsibility within time and history. Such a responsibility would tell him that Marxism has been more successful than most philosophies in stating the problem of social justice within an industrial society, but that it

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has fallen into a fatal error where it disregards the rights of the individual—every separate individual—in ruthlessly supporting a supposedly just—because "scientific"—process of history. The answer to Marxism is to accept the challenge of the necessity of world-wide social change, but at the same time to regard the individual with Christian charity and justice.

[*This is the third section of a three-part essay.*—The Editors]

THE TRIAL OF THE AGE

ON APRIL 30, the British firm of Hodder and Stoughton published what purported to be an objective, in fact *the* definitive, account of what up to now is probably the most famous political trial of the twentieth century. It was written by the Earl Jowitt, who, among other high distinctions, was once Lord Chancellor of Great Britain. Attacks on the book had already begun in certain questionable sections of the American press. For instance, George Sokolsky, even more apopletic than usual, devoted several dispatches to the earl's literary infamies.

THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS, by the Earl Jowitt (Doubleday; $3.95).

The reason was that Doubleday and Company planned to bring out the book in the US on May 21. Not long after the first British reviews reached this side of the Atlantic, Doubleday announced, with an air of inexplicable mystery, that publication of the book had been indefinitely postponed. A few days later, a spokesman for the company admitted that Lord Jowitt had made some factual errors in the British and what was to have been the American version of the book. These, he added, would be corrected; then the volume would definitely be published.

Not surprisingly, a number of panicky civil liberterians immediately assumed that the book had been suppressed. The Authors' Guild was asked to protest the entrance of McCarthyism into the book publishing business, and there were those who wanted the ACLU to issue a stern statement. Among those who rushed into the non-existent battle were a few unangelic fools who last year had tried to pressure Random House into abandoning its plans for issuing Whittaker Chambers' *Witness*, presumably on the grounds that only certain versions of history should be read. Meanwhile, *Time* magazine informed its readers that Lord Jowitt was pretty much of a lightweight anyway.

Now that the second and corrected version of the work is available, it is obvious that a lot of newsprint has been wasted. I have read both the British and the new Doubleday editions of the book, and I must report that the errors in the first are reasonably numerous but in no case especially consequential and that *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss*, corrected or not, is by no means objective, is certainly not definitive, and is not even very interesting. Instead of clearing up the still-unsolved mysteries of the case, it seems to me only to add to them.

Of course, Lord Jowitt worked at a decided disadvantage. He did not attend either trial; he has never seen either Alger Hiss or Whittaker Chambers; he wrote his book mainly on the basis of his study of the transcript of the second trial as well as Alistair Cooke's *A Generation on Trial*, *Seeds of Treason* by Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky, and Chambers' *Witness*. On the basis of these, Lord Jowitt decided, he writes, "to deal with the case from the detached point of view of a lawyer who desires merely to review the evidence which was presented in the course of the case."

In that, it seems to me as a layman, he has failed. True, he has not directly expressed an opinion "as to whether or not Alger Hiss was guilty," but by indirection he has done so on every page, in nearly every paragraph. Despite his publishers' assurances to the contrary, Lord Jowitt has written an apologia for Alger Hiss. That is, of course, his right. He is not, however, in any way convincing. The reasons are many, but among the fundamental ones is his assumption that, except for a few unimportant odds and ends, Hiss, a man he believes to have been more important in American life than he was, was telling the truth consistently while Chambers was incapable of distinguishing between what actually happened and what he wished had happened.

As time goes on, I am more than ever convinced that there was, to use the earl's words, "massive and monumental" lying on both sides from the day in August, 1948, when Chambers first appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities until, in January, 1950, Hiss was sentenced. Of course, Chambers was a villain; he has not only confessed to that; he has publicly wallowed in his infamies. In addition, however, there no longer seems to be any doubt, reasonable or otherwise, that Alger Hiss is not only guilty of the perjury of which he was convicted but probably of the espionage of which he was accused as well; finally, he seems to me as responsible as any man now living for the un-nerving success of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Now the two chief errors in the British version of *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* have to do with the House Committee and with Chambers' attempted suicide. In the British edition, Lord Jowitt several times says that Chambers under oath denied before that committee that he had documentary evidence to support his charges against Hiss. The fact is that no one on the House Committee ever asked Chambers such a question.

Lord Jowitt has corrected that error in the American edition. In addition, in his earlier book he stated that Chambers tried to commit suicide before he produced the documents during the pretrial examination of the libel suit Hiss brought against him. Chambers says he thought about killing himself at that time but did not actually try until he was waiting to appear before the Grand Jury in New York, approximately three months later. This fact is recorded in the book Doubleday has now published.

There are numerous smaller errors, not so much of fact as of judgment. There are also some odd omissions—odd, certainly, if Lord Jowitt really was trying to write an unprejudiced book. It is possible to mention only a few. Several times Lord Jowitt, like so many other Hiss apologists, expresses his bewilderment that Hiss brought the libel action against Chambers which, of course, was responsible for the latter finally turning up the damning documents. Why, the Earl wants to know, would an innocent man do that? Actually, it is not surprising at all. Once Chambers had repeated his somewhat vague charges against Hiss on the "Meet the Press" radio program, Hiss had no alternative. He certainly delayed as long as possible, so long in fact that even such then-friendly newspapers as *The Washington Post* began asking him almost daily when he planned to sue.

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If he was to continue in his role of injured innocence, which up to then had been remarkably successful, he had to take the case to court. Besides, at the time he must have been convinced that no documents were available. It would be his word against that of Chambers—a contest he had good reason to believe he would win. After all, Hiss knew that the FBI had been investigating him for years and had, so far as he knew, turned up no evidence. As for the fact that Hiss produced the typewriter on which the documents were typed, a fact of which Lord Jowitt also makes a great deal, Hiss surely thought that his apparent co-operation would count more for than against him. Besides, it was inevitable that the prosecution would eventually uncover it.

Granted, there are scores of instances when even in the second trial Chambers was either lying or his memory failed him, but there are hundreds of paragraphs in Lord Jowitt's book in which the author blandly accepts almost every statement made by Hiss as an incontrovertible fact. He assumes that Hiss spoke with perfect candor when, in 1947, he said to representatives of the FBI that Chambers' name meant nothing to him; yet he does not seem to find it curious that on August 5, 1948, when Hiss first appeared before the House Committee and was asked, "You say you have never seen Mr. Chambers?" he repeated, "The name means absolutely nothing to me." The name would have meant a great deal to an innocent man, and he would have had no reason for not admitting it. If Lord Jowitt had been practicing law in the US, he might have been an excellent attorney for the defense, better, probably, than either Lloyd Paul Stryker or Claude B. Cross.

However, after reading this book, with and without its major errors, I would still agree with the jury that found Hiss guilty. Judge Henry W. Goddard in his charge to the jury several times defined the meaning of the words "beyond a reasonable doubt;" nevertheless, Lord Jowitt finds the phrase one

> which had no precise meaning. . . . Quite recently, [he adds,] the court of Criminal Appeal in England has suggested that the phrase . . . should be no longer used, and that the judge in the future should content himself with telling the jury that they must be "satisfied of the prisoner's guilt" without any qualifying phrase. . . .

This reader of *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss* is satisfied with that, too. While the whole truth has certainly not yet been revealed, Lord Jowitt has, both before and after he corrected this book, only added to the confusion.

MERLE MILLER

A DOCTOR'S DOCTOR

IT IS FAIR, I think, to say that American psychiatry is growing up. The tendency to take Freud (or Jung) as a god, whose precious doctrine must not be increased or decreased by the smallest fraction, is fading as the humorless, fanatic devotees who always constitute the first generation of a new religion begin to die out. The shoddy and sometimes racketeering underworld of untrained "psychologists" is being eliminated, thanks chiefly to the raising of professional standards of training. Internal factions among various schools of psychiatrists are still too numerous and too bitter, but this also is an aspect of a young discipline, that need not be taken too seriously.

THE INTERPERSONAL THEORY OF PSYCHIATRY, by Harry Stack Sullivan (Norton; $5).

One who helped greatly to bring psychiatry to its present degree of maturity was Dr. Harry Stack Sullivan of Washington, who died far too young in 1949. He was a doctors' doctor, not very well known to the general public, but his influence inside the profession was strong.

Life creates tensions; tensions distort personality. Sullivan believed that human beings need love, which ripens out of tenderness, and that most of our psychic troubles begin when something goes wrong with this process during maturation. He opens his book with a reconstruction of the emotional processes of early infancy which is, naturally, no more than a brilliant speculation, and goes on to carry the developing human being through childhood into maturity. He thinks that attractions and repulsions between human beings are all-important; that anxiety can begin very early and is destructive in the extreme, especially in that it can interfere sadly with communication. He would have agreed with the familiar quotation that "we are all islands shouting lies across seas of misunderstanding." Stressing interpersonal relationships as he did, he included in his field of interest, as many psychiatrists do not, social and even international problems; the trip abroad, in the course of which he died, was undertaken in the interest of the World Federation for Mental Health, one of whose keen interests has been the study of international psychological tensions which help to lead toward war, and what might be done about them.

Dr. Sullivan makes a strong distinction between sexual "output" in the Kinseyian meaning and tenderness or intimacy which leads to love, to the sense of being wanted, and to security. He is impatient with those who use such simple omnibus words as heterosexuality, homosexuality and narcissism, pointing out that if you include emotional and physical factors, there are fifty-one possible sex patterns beween two people, only six of which are so unusual as to be called highly improbable. He comments with equal, sturdy independence on many other things, including the relation of sex to the real problem that drives the patient to seek the aid of the psychiatrist; the value of the dream fulfilling symbolically the unsatisfied needs of the waking state; the dim and tenuous relationship between what really happens in the world about you and what you think happens; and the usefulness of his hypochondria to the hypochondriac. He repudiated all doctrine suggesting that the nature of man is inherently evil, or that human personality is fixed and unchangeable; indeed, he demonstrated its fluidity by cheerfully changing his own mind in public from time to time, with the engaging candor that is one of the infallible signs of a great human being.

This is not another "self-help" book of the sort that is pouring from the presses nowadays in a profusion that is itself a disturbing comment on our society. Much of it is pretty heavy going for the layman, and it emphasizes the fact that most neurotics need more help than they can get from solitary reading. An heroic job of editing has been done by Helen Perry and Mary Gawel, who have fitted together parts of various papers to eliminate repetition and to supply necessary supplementary detail, to a degree that practically amounts to collaboration. On the whole, the book is a brilliant testament to an original and gifted thinker in a field whose importance becomes clearer every day.

BRUCE BLIVEN

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AUTHOR'S INTERFERENCE

AS ONE OPENS *The Chain in the Heart*, a handsome volume, and turns to the first page, one is immediately caught by the writer's competence. We read "a grownup's sweater wrapped his chest" and know at once we are witnessing events through the eyes of a child. We read that "wisps of smoke rise from the chimneys to be snatched by the wind"

THE CHAIN IN THE HEART, by Hubert Creekmore (Random House; $3.75).

and we know Mr. Creekmore has the power of accurate vision and a corresponding sense of language. We settle back to enjoy the control of a good writer.

Soon our relaxation is jarred by inept dialogue. A Southern youngster says "I ain't growed up yet." An adolescent girl remarks "I calls im my sweetheart." A bootblack observes "I'm jus a common bootblack." Or the author thrusts his thesis into the dialogue of an uneducated and unsophisticated character, allowing him to say " . . . lots of things we want, like toilets an respect an good jobs an—hospitals."

These intrusions of unlikely remarks jolt one most because the individual scenes of the novel are usually excellent, the characters memorable, and the descriptions precise. When Mr. Creekmore leans into the novel to trouble us with an occasional didactic speech, with formularizations of the theme ("You got to make your freedom where you are"), or with highly civilized asides in the conversations of simple folk, one wants to turn to Mr. Creekmore rudely and say, "This is a fine novel. Go away, you're disturbing it."

Much of the time Mr. Creekmore remains to comment on the actions of his characters. But when he supervises them from a distance, one is charmed by his art. The relations between three generations of a Southern Negro family are excellently drawn, particularly the changing attitude of George toward his wife's son, Taffy George, fathered by a white man.

Mr. Creekmore is a native of Mississippi. He knows the Southern Negro well. His characters, when the author lets them speak instead of speaking for them, disturb us with their difficulties and delight us with their small joys. When they do not follow Mr. Creekmore into the outlines of his theme, one praises them—and him—for the independence of their actions. Mr. Creekmore believes that the Negroes' "chains" lie more in the heart than in white institutions. Alas, for all but the greatest of us, internal freedom seldom assuages the need to be free from external repressions. When Taffy George, who is light enough to pass as white, and who is armed with a Master's Degree from the University of Chicago and wants to teach, returns—as a Negro—to a South which once filled him with bitterness, we know he is doing the "right" thing, but in fulfilling the author's purposes rather than his own, he has already begun to fade before our eyes. SOL STEIN

A LIGHT ECONOMICS

THIS is the finest book for an economic semi-literate—of whom this deponent is a conspicuous example—that has been produced in this country for years. The faculty, of course, will regard it as kindergarten stuff, pap for the infants, unworthy of a Doctor of Philosophy's consideration, and from their own point of view the faculty will be quite right. But there are more of us than there are of them, so the book has a place and a very large place, not in the cloisters but among the laics.

THE WORLDLY PHILOSOPHERS, by Robert L. Heilbroner (Simon and Schuster; $5).

The title is based upon the supposition that the true philosophers, whether they stem from Socrates or from K'ung Fu-tzu, are pretty much committed to the theory that this world is but a vale of woe and heaven is our home; but the economists, while not disputing the woefulness of things, are impelled to consider the here and now. They are worldly, yet philosophers; and in this light Heilbroner considers a dozen of the greatest, with sidelong glances at some others who, while hardly great, are interesting.

It is, of course, open to the attack that may be made upon any eclectic work. Heilbroner's great economists are Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, Mill, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Owen, Marx, George, Veblen, Keynes and Schumpter. In a prefatory chapter he evolves a delightful theory explaining why there was not and could not be a true economist before Adam Smith; that I am willing to accept, but there have been some since Adam Smith that he ignores to my regret. Perhaps Jeremy Bentham was not an economist, but Turgot was and Proudhon and Prince Kropotkin, none of whom is mentioned.

As far as it goes, however, this is a gay, almost lilting, explanation of the kind of man each of the giants was, and the essential contribution he made to the development of economic theory. It is over-simplified, of course; after all, the book contains less than 350 pages, so what could you expect? But as far as my limited information goes it does not misrepresent the direction, although it may shorten the range, of any man's thought. It would be fatuous to suggest that a man by reading this book learns economics; but it is not fatuous, it is fact, to assert that by reading this book he will learn that economics exists, which is more than a great many of us have learned, even though we may be able to recite the dictionary's definition of the term.

For one does not apprehend, much less comprehend economics without some notion of the line it has taken in attacking its problems. Mr. Heilbroner has been notably successful in tracing the line, at least until he got down to Schumpter; I think he rather frazzled out there, but, after all, when he came to Schumpter he was dealing largely with prophecy, which is a frazzling exercise.

The Worldly Philosophers is a light book, but it is one that was made light by terrifically hard labor. It is light in the sense that *Candide* is light, in that it was written by a man who had put in heavy toil to learn how to speak lightly. As a result, it is enchanting to those of us who have not done the work, but who reap where we have not strewn. The pictures of the economists as men are brilliant, and the estimates of their work are, I believe, substantially correct and, I know, highly plausible.

From the publisher's blurb I gather that Mr. Heilbroner is not himself an economist; but I suspect that for laymen he has ticketed and catalogued the economists somewhat as Gibbon, who was not a Roman, has ticketed and catalogued the Romans. In any event he has written an enchanting book about what was once described as the Dismal Science. GERALD W. JOHNSON

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A HEAVY THEOLOGY

MARTIN BUBER'S book *Eclipse of God* opens with two talks: one that apparently comes to a conclusion but in fact remains unconcluded, and the other that is broken off yet attains extraordinary completion. Each is a dispute about God, but the first talk closes on the God of the Philosophers, a cogitative truth or abstraction, while the second culminates in the living God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, "Him to whom one can say 'Thou'."

ECLIPSE OF GOD, by Martin Buber (Harper; $2.50). FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN, by Martin Buber (Harper; $3).

The radical distinction between the two modes of conceiving the Absolute forms the basis of these studies in the relationship between religion and philosophy. The first of these modes, writes Buber, "has its living reality in the relation *I-Thou*, the second has its reality in the relation *I-It*." In the first mode, the "I" (the human person) meets "Thou" (the divine absolute) in that concreteness and fulness of life between two living beings in which, to use Plato's figure, "in a moment a light is kindled as from springing fire." In the second mode, the "I" observes and reflects as if on an object. The "I-It" relation brings the "I" to one or more aspects of an existing being; the "I-Thou" relation confronts the "I" with that being itself.

In each case, the nature of the self is different, depending on whether the "I" enters into reciprocal contact with the other, or merely regards it as an object of observation. The religious reality is the highest manifestation of the "I-Thou" relation; similarly, philosophy is the ultimate abstract expression of the "I-It" relation. With the one, we are in the realm of God the transcendent Reality; with the other, in the realm of God the immanent Idea.

These two basic modes of living with the existent together constitute the entire structure of man's life, and it is only a question of which predominates. Today, declares Buber, the "I-It" mode is ascendant. A self that seizes all, dissects and uses all, takes so much authority unto itself that it cannot accept a genuine absolute as existing outside it. "It steps in between and shuts off from us the light of heaven."

The full force and importance of the distinction emerges with Buber's trenchant criticism of Jung. In question here, it should be noted, is not Jung's psychology but his religion. Contrary to all truly religious thinkers who have placed God "without," Jung places him entirely "within": as opposed to absolute Being standing over against man in the living *vis-a-vis* of the "I-Thou," Jung sets up God as "an autonomous psychic content." The divine action for him is a movement of the soul, the soul experiencing itself. In this he would like to see a parallel between himself and Meister Eckhart.

Actually, Eckhart's kinship of the soul with God is of another order. For Eckhart the "soul is, to be sure, like God in freedom, but . . . it is created while He is uncreated." The difference is decisive for the genuineness of religion, implies an eternal Being existing for Himself, distinct and separate from the soul, outside and independent of it. In swallowing the divine in the human, Jung's religion of pure psychic immanence abolishes divinity. It is the counterpart on the psychological plane of the reduction of God to an "I" (the Idea) on the ontological.

A religious chronicle in fictional form, *For the Sake of Heaven* is the story of the spiritual conflict that broke out in the hasidic communities in Poland and Galicia at the time of Napoleon. On the one hand, there were the "magicians" who sought to make of Bonaparte that Gog of the Land of Magog of whom prophecy speaks, whose wars were to precede the coming of the Messiah; on the other hand, the "monitors" who held that it is not given to man to determine the "end of days" and that only the inner return of the entire human being to God can prepare for redemption.

The conflict is never resolved, and the story closes with the death, within the same year, of all the leaders on both sides. This extraordinary fact suffuses *For the Sake of Heaven* with a radiance of inward meaning which is the exact counterpart of the obscuration of the divine light Buber speaks of in *Eclipse of God*. For in substance both books are saying the same thing, the one abstractly in the language of ideas, the other concretely, in the gestures of men living and dying at the heart of the Mystery: God is not a principle or truth apprehended but a Presence encountered, the Other speaking, spoken to.

MICHAEL FRAENKEL

JULIUS CAESAR, 1953

by Eric Bentley

MORE EXCLUSIVELY than most other artists, the dramatist is concerned with the definition of man. Poet and painter may take a sunset for subject, but a playwright's primary job is always to send actors out onto a stage, each actor not only *being* a man, but also *representing* another man. The stage is a pedestal or showcase for the exhibition of *homo sapiens*. Hence, the enormous stress which critics have always placed on the fact that our greatest playwright portrayed *men* may seem justified. The only danger in such an emphasis is that it might tempt us to take these magnificent creatures and, as critics or producers, have our own way with them. Which is to forget that Shakespeare—not as philosopher, it is true, but as dramatist—defined his own terms. The query: what is a man? underlies all his works and in some of them comes to the surface.

In no play are the men themselves more impressive and in no play is a definition of man more explicitly sought after than in *Julius Caesar*. Both the men and the definition have special value today. For when we believe in heroes, we tend to be doctrinaire and hence only half-human (Catholic or Communist), and when we begin to criticize heroes, we tend to reject them out of hand, only to discover that we cannot reconstruct a man from a bundle of motives and drives. Shakespeare steers between the Scylla of doctrinaire heroism and the Charybdis of naturalistic fatality. You can admire his people but you can also understand them; you can pity but you can also censure. We respect these men even after we discover they are wrong. Brutus, after all, has been wrong throughout. Shakespeare goes much further than Plutarch in underlining his wrongness—about each problem as it arises—yet "this was the noblest Roman of them all . . . Nature might stand up/ And say to all the world 'This was a man'." Brutus *is* Shakespeare's definition of manhood. The pertinence of the definition today is that its two sides, the nobility and the wrongness, the strength and the weakness, are, for Shakespeare, equally real. Our actors will destroy the drama for us to the extent that they play up one side at the expense of the other.

In the thirties, Orson Welles tried, I

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believe, to isolate the politics in *Julius Caesar* and play that alone. He no doubt would have acknowledged that there was a price to be paid in damage to the individual characters—clearly not everyone in the play as written is either a little liberal or else a little conservative. But what perhaps did not interest Mr. Welles at all is today the main point: that in Shakespeare, by contrast both with Machiavelli and modern pseudo-liberalism, politics are absolutely continuous with the personal and moral life of man. This means that, by Marxist standards, Shakespeare's political studies are hopelessly unpolitical and subjective; but it also means that, by the anti-Marxist standards fashionable today, they are much too political and objective.

The new film *Julius Caesar* is, in the sense just implied, anti-Marxist. It is produced by Orson Welles' able ex-partner John Houseman who has gone back on Welles' famous "anti-fascist" interpretation to the extent of cutting out all the politics except a dull little lesson on the vanity of dictators. I don't primarily mean that he cuts lines or incidents—though the great political scene of Cinna the poet is missing and the battle of Philippi is reduced to the dimensions of a Western. I mean that the implied definition of man excludes politics, and hence that a great political character like Cassius, so concretely presented by Shakespeare, is reduced to the vulgar abstraction of personal jealousy. That the part is played by the leading Shakespearian actor of our day only clinches the point: had there been any intention of rendering Cassius' political sagacity and the way it melts in the warmth of his friendship for Brutus, Sir John Gielgud could presumably have rendered it. As things are, we enjoy his superb rendering of individual passages (notably his opening, expository scene), without ever feeling that the parts amount to that large organism which is Shakespearean man.

Roles that are compact and soon done with rather naturally fare better: Louis Calhern's Caesar and Edmond O'Brien's Casca are the best performances in these parts one is ever likely to see. The bigger the part the tougher the problem, and oddly enough the MGM casting has its central weakness in the central role of Brutus. *Julius Caesar* with James Mason in this part, one is tempted to assert, is *Hamlet* without the prince. He is a sphinx without a secret, the wise psychoanalyst of current mythology, a nice man with pipe and spectacles who will end not with a bang but a whimper.

If Mason is unfit for Brutus, Marlon Brando is unready for Antony. He is the most beautiful young man of the American stage, and in this film like enough to a classic statue. He is also as mettlesome as a race-horse, a magnificent theatrical presence and temperament. And whether or not he has intelligence as it is measured in the schools, he has the right intelligence for an artist, a form of keenness directly visible in his eyes and indirectly visible in his work: it shows in the very unreadiness of his Antony, for no attempt is made to improvise a glossy and sophisticated front; Mr. Brando unashamedly struggles with the part before the very eyes of the cameras. Take his speech, for example. He has not learnt to speak in blank verse. He gets none of his effects in normal, full voice; he must shriek, mutter, distort the tone, break the rhythm. Yet one always listens (as one does not to Mr. Mason) because his special temperament and keenness are in the lines. And when one approves, it's like saying "Isn't his English wonderful?" of a foreign actor. It's magnificent, but it's not war. For where technique is deficient, characterization cannot but suffer. And while star actors with no technique can get along nicely on personality, Shakespeare demands more, and Mr. Brando has it in him to give more.

In so gallant a performance, one would not even grumble at the actor's unpreparedness except that his director seems rather to welcome than oppose it. In order to give us the unpolitical, "purely human" Shakespeare, a director must ask that each principal in *Julius Caesar* fall short of a complete characterization. It would, for example, be well within Mr. Brando's present range to make the main point about Antony that is made in the early part of the play, namely, that he is a reveller. Instead, we were just shown his handsome body.

Some of the film's limitations stem from the medium as such. The now widespread notion that Shakespeare's plays are "filmic" is true only to the extent that they are made up of an unbroken succession of short scenes. The actual filming of Shakespeare never fails to remind us how utterly he belongs to the stage. A Cassius who walks through a real street loudly talking to himself (as in the film) can only seem demented. Even voice-projection—by which the verse gains in dignity—seems absurd in a movie—as artifice always must when its *raison d'être* disappears.

This is not to say that Shakespeare movies should not be made. There is nothing to sneer at in the idea of taking the poet to a larger audience. Since the studios can afford a finer cast than almost any theatre, the possible advantage to anyone not a resident of Stratford on Avon is apparent.

Nor do my strictures on *Julius Caesar* amount to a rejection of it. This is, arguably, the best Shakespeare film to date. It is certainly the least cluttered with irrelevant apparatus. It contains much good narrative, and many striking images. It is informed with intelligence. What I have against its makers I could urge against most of our Shakepeareans: that they rest content with a divided mentality instead of letting Shakespeare help them toward his own version of man, seen steadily and whole.

BANG OR WHIMPER

THE END OF THE WORLD, by Kenneth Heuer (Rinehart; $3).

Kenneth Heuer is a competent astronomer who had the bright, journalistic idea of writing a book about the possible ways in which the world can end. He tells, in a style that is also bright and journalistic, how at a time many millions of years in the future all living things will be burned or frozen to death because of the increased or decreased heat of the sun, provided we haven't been snuffed out sooner by collision with a wandering comet or star and haven't destroyed ourselves with atomic explosions.

The last of these possibilities he considers very real indeed, and he discusses in terms of urgent alarm the chances of liberating in the atmosphere enough radioactive dust to destroy all mankind. It is a pity that he chose to include some nonsense about space travel; perhaps someone told him that no book on astronomy nowadays can sell without it.

B.B.

Notes on the Critics

MERLE MILLER is the author of *The Judges and the Judged*. SOL STEIN is a political affairs analyst for The Voice of America. GERALD W. JOHNSON, historian and TV commentator, is an *NR* Contributing Critic. MICHAEL FRAENKEL is a frequent contributor to the *NR*.

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From Our Readers

► Whose River?

I was glad to see the *New Republic*, almost alone among national publications, recognizing the significance of the current struggle over Hell's Canyon. This controversy, like Muscle Shoals in the 20's, may prove a major political issue in coming campaigns.

Whether the great multi-purpose dam will be built on the Snake River between the states of Idaho and Oregon is not a local issue. The economic benefits would spread throughout the country. The political consequences of adding one more give-away to the lengthening list of the Administration's generosity to special corporate interests would be nationwide.

Today the battle centers on hearings before the Federal Power Commission. The Idaho Power Co. (a Maine Corporation) has applied for a license to build three small dams on the Snake, dams which would forever block the building of the high Hell's Canyon dam and produce far less economic benefits.

The proposal for the high dam originated with the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. After two decades of study they concluded that this multi-purpose project would contribute to the best development of the region's resources. The Truman Administration gave its full support to the proposal.

With the new Administration, however, the policy of partnership with private-power monopoly came into play. Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, after consulting the Cabinet, withdrew his participation in the FPC proceeding, throwing over all the preparations of the previous Administration to represent the public interest. He was recently quoted in the Portland *Oregonian* in favor of granting the license to the Idaho Power Co.

The National Hell's Canyon Association came into being almost spontaneously to pick up the ball which the Secretary of the Interior had fumbled. It is made up of farm, labor, co-op and public-power groups in Idaho, Oregon, Washington and Montana.

NHCA was formed under pressure in June. Hearings were to start July 7, with a vacuum as far as the public side was concerned. The situation became more critical when at the start of the hearings, the FPC denied a motion to recess to give NHCA a chance to get on top of the vast amount of technical material involved in the case. On this technical material the issue would turn.

This public group requires lawyers and engineers to face the battery of company lawyers and engineers, to replace those who would have presented the case had Interior remained an intervener.

Money is necessary to fight such a case: money for lawyers and engineers; money for transcripts of testimony; money for simple things like clerical help and reproduction of statements.

Money raising takes time. We had none. The hearings were hardly more than a week off. We had to have legal representation immediately, hired largely on faith that we would jump in with both feet and raise money later.

The people in the Northwest, where the issue is front-page news, have contributed some and pledged more. But their total amounts to less than the company pays its team of lawyers, engineers and public-relations counsel for one week. The hearing has already lasted three weeks and will continue for months. It will unquestionably be taken into the courts.

In other words, if the Muscle Shoals battle of the 50's is to be won, money is required immediately to carry on the basic work involved in participation in the FPC hearing.

If you are interested in stopping the drive of private-power monopoly against the resources policy symbolized by TVA, send your contributions to the National Hell's Canyon Association, Inc., 1135 S.E. Salmon, Portland 14, Oregon.

Washington, D. C. LELAND OLDS

► For Freer Trade

Last week the House of Representatives defeated another attempt to cripple the Reciprocal Trade program. The one-party press reported the vote as a major victory for President Eisenhower. But a majority of the Republicans voted against the President. He was rescued by Democrats. It wasn't the first time. Yet he seems determined to alienate his rescuers. Each time they pull one of his requests out of the Republican fire, he leaves them holding it hot.

Eisenhower originally requested a one year "as is" extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act but did nothing to get it. So Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R, Pa.), the fair-haired boy of the American Tariff League and the National Coal Association, introduced a bill to quite simply kill the Trade Act. Eisenhower was scared into a compromise. He promised that future Tariff Commissioners would be more protectionist-minded, and he supported a new Simpson bill changing the Tariff Commission from a fact-finding to a partisan body. This bill passed the House. Simpson then introduced a second bill incorporating all the provisions he had dropped from his original bill. Administration forces agreed to allow a vote on it in exchange for Simpson's help in getting the Excess Profits extension bill out of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Senate Democrats threw out the provision for a partisan Tariff Commission and gave Eisenhower the "as is" extension he had originally requested. House Democrats defeated the second Simpson bill. Then Eisenhower declared himself in favor of a partisan Tariff Commission and cut the ground out from under the Senators who were fighting House efforts to restore the Commission packing provision.

Democrats, I'm told, have lost patience. If, because of the President's statement, the packing provision is restored, Sen. Walter F. George (D, Ga.) is said to be determined to lead a straight party fight on the Senate Floor. I hope the rumor is true. So far the Democrats have maintained an admirable record as the "loyal opposition," and the few accomplishments Eisenhower can claim have been achieved through their co-operation. But it is about time they indicate that their patience has a limit and give him a taste of what he can expect should he have to depend on his own party.

New York City TED GRAVES

► A New Subscriber

Having read the letter by Mr. Frank Davis (*NR*, July 6) anent book burning in Wellington, Kansas, I am herewith enclosing the money for a year's subscription to the *New Republic*, which is to be sent to the Wellington Public Library. . . .

My grandparents lived most of their adult lives in Wellington, my father was born there and died there and my mother, born on the Kansas prairie, lived in Wellington from the age of four until two months ago.

For 12 years I attended the public schools of Wellington. I have a deep and abiding horror of book burning, and in view of the above, I could scarcely have learned it elsewhere than in Wellington. . . . What is the matter with the Wellington Library, and probably with those of Mr. Davis' "dozens of small cities," is not lack of courage but lack of funds.

Oxford, Miss. MRS. H. C. TRACY

► Freedom Fighters

The news from East Berlin, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, suggests to me that it is time that the American labor and liberal movement expresses its solidarity with those who now strike a blow for freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

Perhaps we need a committee such as those formed in the '30's to aid the men and women who fought against Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Such a committee could mobilize support for fighters against Soviet totalitarianism, terror and tyranny. The committee could also provide the American people with information as to

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the nature of the struggle. It should be made clear, for instance, that the workers in the industrial centers behind the Iron Curtain are not fighting to extend Eisenhower's crusade against creeping socialism. They are probably fighting more in the spirit of "workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains," a slogan Senator McCarthy would never permit over the Voice of America.

However, until such a committee is formed perhaps your readers would be interested in contributing to the CALL FUND FOR SOCIALIST FREEDOM FIGHTERS, 303 Fourth Ave., N. Y. 10, N. Y. The money raised will go directly to Mayor Ernst Reuter for distribution among workers' families whose loved ones have been murdered, wounded, imprisoned or deported in their fight for freedom. They need our help now.

New York City TOM BROOKS

► Party Realignment and Discipline

Sen. Wayne Morse (*NR* July 6) points up one of the most important political issues of our times—*i.e.*, the need for realignment of political parties. The other great "must" is the strengthening of party discipline over the actions of candidates and public office-holders.

The liberals of the Democratic Party must continue their holding action for social reforms until such realignment takes place. It was New Deal liberalism that made the Democratic Party the Party of the little people and the conservative "Democrats" of the South who have blocked progressive measures, stopping economic progress and rendering the Democratic Party an ineffective instrument of reform. In many countries an elected office-holder is considered disloyal to his Party if he votes against his Party's program.

The Democratic Party must begin a job of organizing a Party in the South—a liberal party—which will oppose such conservatives as Byrd, Byrnes, etc., who are not Democrats at all.

Morse said, "The utility of the two-party system in a democracy is to provide voters with a choice of political and economic philosophy, a set of alternatives from which to select proposed solutions for common problems. By and large, the conservative coalition which dominates both principal parties does not presently provide that necessary element of choice."

Swissvale, Pa. EDWARD BLOTZER JR.

Cheers for Sen. Wayne Morse's stimulating articles, recurrently appearing in *NR*. That stalwart liberal emulates the tradition of such fearless champions of liberalism as George W. Norris and Harold Ickes.

New York City JESSE WEIL

► The *NR* Format

Congratulations on your new format . . . *NR's* new face is handsome indeed.

TOM AND VIVIAN ALSTON

High Point, N. C.

Your new format is most attractive; we can only hope it attracts subscribers.

Auburndale, Mass. JOHN F. WEATHERLY

Delighted that you have redesigned the format of the *New Republic*. As a rule I'm against change, but I'm sure this is an improvement.

London, England SIR KENNETH CLARK

I have just received my second edition of the "new" *New Republic*. My comment is: M-U-R-D-E-R!

I simply love the new covers and cover pictures and all; the new inside arrangement is admirable too; the new inside print will have to go!

The writer finds himself in somewhat an embarrassing position on this new print matter—conservative and reactionary. Not liberal or progressive (smile).

Alexandria, Va. LEONARD BROWN JR.

► History: Truman vs. Eisenhower

In the July 6 issue of your publication T. R. B. asks: "It would be funny, wouldn't it, if history should place little Harry Truman ahead of the great General Ike as President?"

I fail to see any joke in history so placing. What else could it do, I ask you?

With a glass eye it can be seen, right now, that Harry Truman towers above General Ike as President. . . .

Glen Falls, N. Y. K. M. GODLEY

Michael Straight is out of the country on a brief trip. The column "To Our Readers" will be resumed on his return.

Bandwagon

The FDA still hangs onto its false assumption that weevils are harmful to the health of the consumer. The FDA has never made any test by feeding flour made from weevil-infested wheat to a group of consumers. Chickens eat all insects and benefit thereby. Why not humans? A test might show that humans eating flour containing insect fragments are healthier than persons eating insect-free flour. – *From* Grain and Feed Journals Consolidated, *April 22, 1953.*

Rep. Kit Clardy (R, Mich.) a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, said he had no interest in removing the mural, [by Rockwell Kent] which would involve painting over it or ripping out the plaster.

"I suspect it is a pretty good painting," Mr. Clardy said. "I'll probably go over and admire it—from a respectable distance." – *From the New York* Times, *July 5, 1953.*

The Republicans, Senator Mundt said, should follow up Democrats who voted for General Eisenhower last year and actively enroll them as Republicans to help insure a bigger Congressional margin after next year's elections.

He said the party had an especial appeal for youth right now because the President, General Eisenhower, "is a boy at heart" and the new Republican chairman, Leonard W. Hall of New York, "is a boy who is never going to grow up." – *From the* New York Times.

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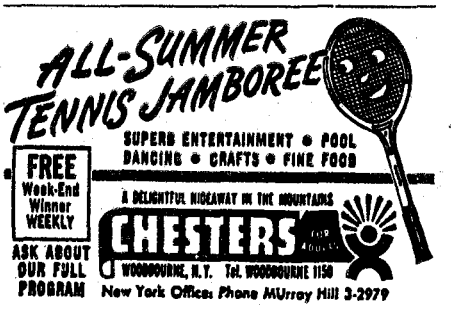
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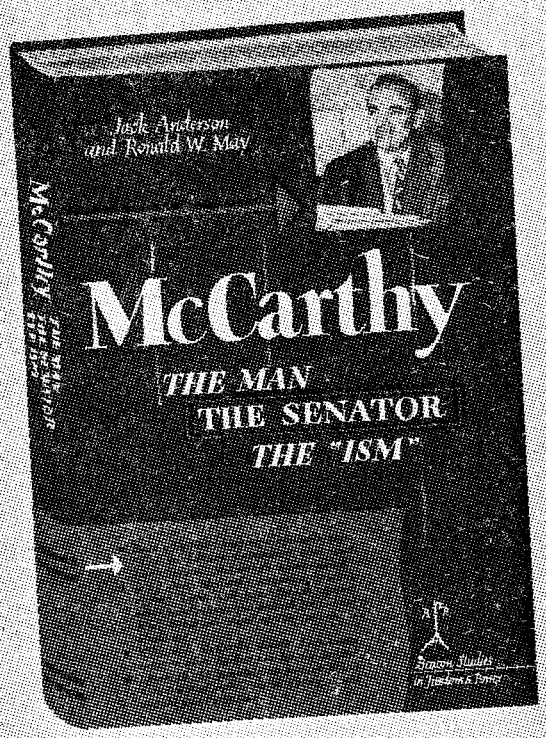

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